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THE ISSUE OF 1920.

GRADUATION THESIS

OF

Charles William Weston.

Department of County Work.

In Candidacy For The Degree of

BACHELOR OF ASSOCIATION SCIENCE.

Thirtieth Annual Commencement of
THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION COLLEGE
Chicago - - - - - Lake Geneva

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OUTLINE

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Talented Children of the Soil".

Stop Rocking the Boat - A. J. McCartney

Material for this treatise was gathered chiefly thru five means: 1. Conventions and reports of conventions held during 1919; 2. Editorial comments made thru the press and by personal mail;

3. Current literature in book and pamphlet form;

4. Personal conversation;

5. Two questionnaires the substance of which is incorporated in the body of the thesis.

Of the methods used the latter was least satisfactory, while personal contact and investigation were most fruitful of satisfactory information. Besides the conventions the reports of which are enumerated in the bibliography are also periodicals, books and pamphlets which to some extent cover the subject treated in the body of the evidence; I wish to acknowledge my especial indebtedness to the following: W. J. Kuntzsch, Commissioner of Schools of Cassilage County, Michigan; John A. Haig, Superintendent of Schools, Ramsey County, North Dakota; E. W. Gray, Kalamazoo, Michigan; Doctor W. W. Diehl, Albion, Michigan; Doctor C. J. Hewitt, Evanston, Illinois; D. E. Swanson and F. T. Lane, Chicago, Illinois; R. C. Shocemaker, Newark, New Jersey; P. V. Barrett, Cresco, Iowa; Morris Rasmussen, St. Paul, Minnesota; Wisconsin Agriculturist; Michigan Farmer; Hoard's Dairyman; The Non-partisan Leader; The Breeders' Gazette.

The people of America are troubled. Our national life seems greatly disorganized. Dissatisfaction fills the land. Folks are asking the meaning of the present state of affairs. What does it all mean? Are the foundations of our national government and the rocks upon which our national life is built, crumbling? Did our forefather build poorly? Must we tear down all in order to erect this new life which will shortly take shape in America? Social psychologists tell us that our power of constructive thinking is immensely weakened; that our ability to act together has been temporarily shattered. They say that our moral ideals have grown flabby, and that there is a tendency on the part of most people to slight the work of all our permanent community institutions. Alarmists affirm that civil war is about to carry us off our feet. Agitators declare that government is impotent in the face of the present crisis. Are these people right? Can they prove their assertions? These questions and many like them we must answer before we can construct a program adequate to the needs of our national life in these days following the world war. The barbarism we thought we had left behind us became in war our chief concern. To bring it to its perfection was the only care of all mankind. To kill is the soldier's life. To get away with it is his philosophy. Getting out of work is his chief concern. Fatalism is his religion. To answer that whistle is his very life. Death is as much a part of the day's routine and more so than eating or sleeping. If the bullet

bears his name he goes west, if not why, it is just luck. The four colors of the trivial Jack relieve racing nerve tension. Camels anes-thetize the pain and counteract the stench. Loathsome mortals twine like clinging vines about the man who leaves camp. Wine, song, and women are the inevitable complement to barbarism. And yet civilization can not be totally obliterated and erased from a man's experience by two or even five years of war. Civilization has even been enriched by the carnage despite its incalculable loss. France and America are no longer friends but brothers. In those days we struggled side by side against a common enemy, the SARAFIS and the FOILUS. France discovered the soul of America and was heartened. Americans learned the grandeur of their name. They came home with a deeper love and pride in being known as Americans. Whether he is found in the front lines or in the training camps, another thing is true of the American soldier. He has his own perhaps peculiar virtues and they are everywhere the same. Courage is the reason for a soldier's life. Cowardice means death always. Unselfishness is ever the keystone of men's relation with each other. Generosity is no myth in camp life. Humility is the badge of the man everywhere. Haughtiness, how the Sassy hated it. He suffered under it; it was the sign of incompetence. From hence forth soldiers will not long permit incompetence, graft, and indifference higher up to go unchallenged. Cheerful patience, that only could

make camp life endurable. How the service man, wear his blue or drab, hates a grouch. Of course many were impure, and more gambled, and were profane in speech, but these vices were condoned not sanctioned. It is a tired and weary world that has emerged from the conflict. America is less weary than others perhaps. That is perchance why we got so drunk with victory. That is perhaps why we have so readily resumed our irresponsible isolation. Our head reels even now with the intoxication, with extravagance and revelry. America has gone on a vacation into the tall timber. But she will return anon. The spirit of 1917 cannot be submerged any more than the spirit of '76 or the spirit of '61 could be.

Many men have come out of the war with worse equipment for life than they had when they entered the conflict. Some on the contrary are better equipped for life. War like all great experiences in life is the test of a man; it breaks or makes him. It depends upon the man which happens, not upon the complexity of the experience. To any person who will consider the whole influence of the war upon our National life during the next few years; one thing becomes plainly evident. War and the military will show their effects in both good and discomfort for all of us. The virtues which were cardinal in camp and training ship will be the virtues demanded down the whole gamut of life. Let the churches take note. The vices and disfigurements due to lack of education and to inefficiency 'higher up' will be abhorred. A corrupt agent of class or

government will do well to remember that. Those who knew hardships will not abide in indolent ease, tho they also know the value of comfort. The unhappy fruits of disuse of initiative will be reaped now, and yet America has great reason to rejoice. The strike of the United Mine Workers in their combat with the coal operators only last fall is a case in point. Strikes have occurred in other nations before now and their effects have been felt from Australia to Scotland and in the United States. In all probability so long as the present economic principles obtain, strikes will continue to reoccur. There is a certain satisfaction derived by the strikers from the wielding of power thru strike even as there is a source of satisfaction to the capitalist in the power of prestige and accumulated wealth.

The strike which was called on November first, 1918 in the final analysis resolved itself into a demand for recognition by the operators of the conditions which according to the report of the United States Geological Survey already existed. The miners demanded a definite thirty hour week with an increase of wages comparable with the existing economic conditions. They felt tho perhaps they did not stop to analyse causes, that uncertainty as to hours, expenses, and the like always lessens the producing capacity of men. On the other hand labor leaders and agitators realize that unoccupied leisure is a detriment to the workmen in the same way that it is to the idle rich. But these were not the points at which friction developed. The point of deviation is the fact that Judge Anderson's injunction was based on the Leaver Act. According to this Act any conspiracy to limit the

production or distribution of necessities is unlawful. Secretary Wilson expressly stated before the Act was passed that in the passage of the Leaver Act, the Administration, "does not construe this Bill as prohibiting strikes and peaceful picketing and will not so construe the Bill, and that the department of justice does not so construe the Bill. The Administration forgot its promise. The strike was called November the eighth. The action of the court was an attempt to quell a strike by misapplied force and not through arriving at a thorough understanding through open discussion. America objected to the peace treaty because it was arrived at behind closed doors and then given to us as a bitter pill would be given to a child, with the admonition to swallow it or be spanked. It is that same sort of procedure to which labor objected in the present case. The significance of strikes lies in the fact that Labor and the so-called common man is not satisfied with anything other than the adoption in his community of the Ideal of Christian Democracy as a Government principle. His community consists first of the nation and then of the world. In so far as this is true the present Labor unrest, like similar movements of other days, is a sign of health in that section of American Citizenship which we call Industry.

Another significant though perhaps less prominent event in the History of Labor in the United States was the American Freedom Convention held in Chicago last November. "The Convention met to advocate the restoration of the Constitutional rights of freedom of thought and of utterance, and amnesty for political and industrial prisoners!" --To petition Congress for the redress of these wrongs (imprisonment for opposition to the present industrial order) is futile, the Convention therefore dedicated

itself to work 'for the united action of all labor that the power of solidarity may insure victory in the fight for freedom'. The million and a half of men which this convention represented investigated the facts, faced the issue and deliberately with the best judgment at their command took the first step towards a return to American ideals. The effects of the war on the minds of these men is seen, as it is in all places where laborers meet these days in the prevalent desire for the application of force in the solution of all vital problems. But the great spirit which came out of that Conference and which was further expressed in the platform propounded in St. Louis by the "Committee of 48" is the desire to maintain as a part of our national life those principles for which the men of '76 chose to die rather than to lose.

The hardest thing in this whole strife between Labor and Capital for equity and justice, is the conviction on the part of each participant that the other is very hard in its attitude towards its opponent. Yet there are capitalists in the country who have a sane and wholesome understanding of the relations of industry to good government. Homer L. Targuison, President of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce is such an one. The policy adopted by Hartz Scheffner & Marks has demonstrated the value of this attitude in action. The declaration of John D. Rockefeller at the Cleveland Labor Convention expresses the need of the spirit of brotherhood and justice in industry. Such captains of industry recognize as does Labor, that strikes are attempts to destroy the barriers between men and a wider field of living. Industry demands that autocracy be put down everywhere. There is a growing

desire for participation in the affairs of the world; to promote with others our common aims; and to be recognized as men. The industrial world is emerging from the stage of Capital and Labor onto a new footing of partnership. Many have been called RED because they strove to attain a larger life. These show not the spirit of anarchy but the spirit of democracy.

The same quest is evidenced in the recent race riots which have caused some to gasp and others to despair. Yet these outbreaks are only symptoms. They were a normal outgrowth of obvious cause. Great numbers of men were withdrawn from industry into the service of the United States. The call for cheap labor went out from Chicago and other industrial centres. Negroes responded and were accepted. In cases far from few in number they proved their worth to their employers. Then the army began to be demobilized. Despite their promise to service men the employers refused to discharge competent men even tho their color was black. That was one cause. The second is but the obverse of the same situation. The government called all men irrespective of race to serve with the colors. The black men learned many things in the army and navy. They learned the value of discipline. They learned perforce to save. They learned the importance of health habits. They received instruction and training to eradicate their deficiencies. They learned the strength and joy of united endeavor. They played games on teams with white officers. Some of those who observed the events of camp life feared for the morale of the negroes. their morale was reenforced. 400,000 colored men served in the army and navy of the United States and 1225 as commissioned

officers. They grew to love and respect their government as they never had before. They became conscious of their power and of the possibilities and joys of citizenship. But they were not unaware of the "small" treatment tendered them by some white men who were also called to serve for the common cause. The black men emerged from the crisis determined to take a more active part in national life. The white men of America were not aware of the great change which had taken place within the ranks of that dark army. It was the inevitable which resulted. Race prejudice encountered active responsibility. Blood was spilled. Why? Because the black man had in the spirit of responsibility and helpfulness assumed the mantle of the Great Liberator. They had grasped his ideals. They had sensed the human note in his ideals for them and us. Liberty, equality, fraternity;- responsibility is the mother of these all.

It is this spiritual emphasis on motives and ideals that is being reflected in the policies of fraternal orders, and in the daily press; in the realm of artists and among the activities of ordinary business people. The Oriental Consistory Of Royal Eminent but restates the matter when it writes; "We need to single with those who need our advice and encouragement. ----- What we need in this United States today is more developed individuals, men and women who will think, feel and act as human beings instead of as cogs in a great machine." The substitution of character and the spiritual nature of life in stogeland instead of the merely human action of dramatic incident; the cutting of rates at Hotel Lusselle last December when they were elsewhere

being raised; Miss Kinclivings indulgence of the idleness enveloped veterans to the chagrin of the moneyed patriots; the disposition of the Frick fortune; these all recast but one word and that is that ideals have to do with life. They need no more to be protected. They are becoming public property, the interest and concern of all people. Service is the slogan of the business world. Service has been the watchword of organized charity. The watchword has not changed. It is the philosophy of helpfulness underlying such organizations that has altered. The war has brought a considerable number of these welfare organizations into prominence. The value of their work has been emphasized during the war. The Y. M. C. A., the American Red Cross, the War Camp Community Service Inc., and the Community Council are of this group.

The work of the Y.M.C.A. is avowedly the building of Christian character among men and boys. It aims to supply the opportunity for symmetrical development to all boys and men, and to induce them to avail themselves of that opportunity. It aims to operate thru the coordinated efforts of all community forces, particularly the homes, the churches, the schools, business and industrial, and governmental agencies, as well as its own program to that end. The American Red Cross has clearly seen the issue which confronts us as a nation. Its policy is broad and wholesome in its humility. It also seeks to supplement existing agencies and to stimulate activities. Its interests are neighborhood interests and are not restricted by party or sect. "The lesson man must learn is to extend the boundaries of his kinships and friendships in peace even as he so readily extended them in war." Little by little and bit by bit, reason must dis-

place passion, love supplant hatred. The transformation may take a long time but it will be worth all the effort put into it. The War Camp Community Service has chosen thru systematic organization of leisure to produce a social substitute for the saloon and to lay a psychological basis of confidence and companionship upon which right economic relations can be constructed. The Community Council is an organization having its purpose, "to promote a type of democratic community organization thru which citizenship as a whole can participate directly in the control of community affairs, while at the same time making constant use of the highest technical skill available". This method raises social work to a democratic as contrasted with a charitable basis. It is thoroly American in its philosophy and practice. The general trend of social service is in that direction. Personality is being recognized. Charity has given place to self-help. Education is supplanting pitying condescension. Such a change in emphasis among well fare organizations would lead one to expect a corresponding alteration in the objective of organized Religion whose offering social service agencies avowedly are. One of the most telling crises in the history of Christianity in America was registered last October. The special commission sent from Japan to the United States had rendered their report on the Influence of Christianity on lives of American People. The verdict of the commission was "that while education, commerce and industry have been developed to a wonderful degree, there is little evidence that the Christian religion is regarded as important by most of the people". We may stand agast at this frank statement of a condition of affairs which all the time we had

half suspected was the truth. A slight investigation on our own part however may reveal other interesting facts. There is one source of information which is open to all who will use it. Those men who made the army and the navy of America so illustrious were and are a part of our selves. They were no worse nor any better than the rest of us. They were a great cross-section of our national life. Their deeds were our deeds; their thots were our thots. Their knowledge of the Christian religion was about as scanty as their connection with the church, which generally consisted in the attendance of their sweet-hearts at the church of their preference, or in the membership of their grandmothers, God rest their souls. Except for a superficial knowledge they knew nothing of so-called religious thots. So far as they could see the church did not produce any effects in the lives of its members. The Church did not emphasize the virtues which they found to be fundamental. The church emphasized another life, their concern was of this life and its problems. They would none of the church. The Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A., The K. of C. ; they purveyed a real man's religion.

And so what the Japanese commission stated, the ex-service men are convinced of. Protestantism has been engaged in a senseless struggle to emphasize class differences, it has not concerned itself in a vital way with the lives of people who looked to it for guidance. It is only just to say, however, that "the differences of Protestant bodies is clearer in their History than in their present practices. It has been customary in the practice of the Protestant Churches to require all candidates for membership

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to subscribe to a creed and to pass a satisfactory examination on it. Everyone was required to profess belief in such dogmas as the Deity of Jesus, the Miracles, future reward and punishment. They all held in common the position that baptism is necessary for Church membership, and, by implication, for salvation. In the popular mind, especially in the days of Protestant polemic scholasticism, each sect believed itself to possess a KEY to the scriptures, in the form of a creed, or to have a SCHEME of salvation such as one might hold a key to a house door or a secret process in curing disease. These sects were mutually exclusive. Church union was a dream far too fair to be of this earth. Church polity, election, an inner experience, or intellectual correctness; were not these the magic secrets to which the various portals of the bright beyond swung wide? Were not these the foundations of man's love for God but hatred for each other as well as for the devil?

But even religion may not rest on false bases forever. For many years men like Voltaire, Thomas Paine, Robert Ingersoll, George Erman Foster, Walter Rauschenburch, F. G. Peabody, and an ever increasing number of more recent religious preachers and thinkers have been quietly but persistently doing their work. The forms in which their efforts found expression are well known. Like an unbroken thread their philosophy of religion runs thru the History of our country from the founding of Harvard and Yale in New England and the opening of the Padre's Missions in New Spain thru the founding of social settlements and Playgrounds Association down to the Child Welfare League, Life Extension

Institute, and kindred agencies of our own day.

The philosophy of the movement has been variously expressed but its theme has been constant.

There is one thing that you can do in you way. It is that one thing that the world and God are waiting for - The new heresy - is the heresy of living for one's self and not throwing one's self into the great program of the world.

F. King Singister, Rangoon, Burma.

There is no religion but goodness, but justice, but charity.

Robert Ingereoll.

The prevalence of the love life over the signs of greed is to be Christian.

John Morris Evans.

The end (Religion) is service to Society, and everyone has got to recognize it.

Charles D. Williams.

If there is ever to be a city of God on earth, all over its walls will be written the names of men, plain, common, mediocre, sinful; who thru the process of building have been made over into the foundations of the perfect city.

Charles W. Gilkie.

To express the whole matter briefly, our vocation is to achieve ideal values; Religion is a conviction that such values are by us achievable, in virtue of our constitution and of the constitution of that whole of which we are a part.

George Burman Foster.

It (the Church) must so educate and train the human beings who look to it for aid that a wiser, more sympathetic, more technically competent citizenship shall exist because of Christian faith and hope and love.

G. B. Smith.

The same love, heroism and sacrifice heretofore devoted so largely to mercy and relief must be chiefly devoted to training and exercising a citizenship which by its clear perception of justice and its tenacious demands for Christian standards will gradually Christianize all public relationships.

Allen Hoben.

No Church can be allowed to substitute the picture of a saint by and by for an honest grappling with the human problems of the now and here.

H. F. Faunce.

We are fighting for democracy, democracy is friendship; it is cooperation; it is equality of opportunity, not alone in government, but in all human interests.

N. S. Bradley.

This spirit is not only expressed in Philosophy but also in creed and prophecy. "We welcome to our fellowship all who desire to worship and work with others for righteousness in the individual and justice in the social order. Creed of a Middle western

Church.

In the new time which is destined to follow the present war, Religion will have an opportunity and an obligation to serve the spiritual needs of men as never before in the history of the race. This can only be accomplished by discarding the old indifference and by recognition of the common elements which belong to the religious life of men. Organizations and methods will be demanded upon a new scale and in a new spirit. Particularly fortunate and able to serve will those churches be which are conscious of the new spirit animating the dogmatic and progressing minds of the church universal. They recognize differences as

inevitable and yet hold none of them as barriers to fellowship and to practical service.

"It would be of utmost value to the world if every local church of all denominations would regard itself in this light. They would no longer be tempted to content themselves with allegiance to the orthodox traditions of the past accompanied by tender good deeds of charity and benevolence. It would be prepared to view participation in all social betterment and in the nourishment of the inner life as its main concern. The church doors would open wide to receive all who sincerely seek its comfort and guidance. Every congregation would be the ally of all the others, and yet be ambitious to excel. Union would be no mere uniformity or static equilibrium, but a living, vital co-operation of free, growing souls in congregations allied to meet the real need of the community and the awakening of the world." (E. A. Ames - The Difference Between Churches, Sermon October 7, 1917. "By spirit, I mean always the psycho-physiological organism in its ideal producing capacity." G. E. Foster - Function of Religion in Man's Struggle for Existence, p. 112.)

This spirit of socialized Christianity has gradually been taking its place in the religious world. During the past decade it has been formulated into the programs which have appeared as the forward movements of the various protestant churches as well as in the social programs of the Roman Catholic Church of America and of American Jewish Rabbis. The Interchurch World Movement of North America has stated this twentieth century Christianity as follows: "The church has come back at last to the emphasis of

Jesus - the Kingdom of God. Christianity does not mean a few good folk meeting for fellowship and worship. It does not mean keeping up the church. It does not mean 'leaving' a few fold for another world. It means a new world here, where the will of God will be done for the good of men in home and state and business. That is the new idea which is back of missions and the Men and Religion Movement; the Social Service, and all the great Christian facts of this age. The church is here for that end. Christ came for that end. That is the meaning of the ages, and to that end, so far as it is really Christian, is pledged with life and substance.

The attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward problems of the day is well defined. In the first place, it expresses disapproval of the "social reconstruction program", of the British Labor Party, the "Four Pillars" of which, follow:

- (1). "The enforcement by law of a national minimum of leisure, health, education, and subsistence;
- (2). the democratic control of industry, which means that nationalisation of all monopolistic and possibly of other industries, some time in the future, if that course be found advisable;
- (3). a revolution of national finance: that is, a system of taxation which will compel capital to pay for the war, leaving undisturbed the national minimum of welfare for the masses;
- (4) use of the surplus wealth of the nation for the common good: that is, to provide capital, governmental industries, and funds for social, educational, and artistic progress."

On the other hand when the time comes when a workable program has been demonstrated, the Catholic Church stands ready

to adopt and to promote it with vigor. In the meantime "all Catholic organizations are anxious to undertake some concrete work during the reconstruction period". The Catholic Church is not behind other Americans in its cognizance of the remorseless scrutiny to which all phases of our national and private life are being at present subjected. "Citizenship", as the Catholic Church sees it, "is our duty to God, fulfilled in our care and solicitude for our country whose welfare God has placed in our hands." In the process of internationalization in which the world finds itself, its leaders declare that, "the Catholic Church cannot remain an isolated factor" and furthermore, "the Catholic Church possesses moral and spiritual resources which are at the command of the nation at every great crisis". And finally "the Catholic Church not only may but should cooperate in these great civic and patriotic resources which are common to all of us as citizens.

The American Rabbis in June 1918 assembled in Chicago and adopted a socio-religious program the preamble of which reads as follows: "The next few decades will have as their chief concern the rectification of social and economic evils. The world will busy itself, not only in the establishment of political, but also with the achievement of industrial and democracy thru social justice. The ideal social justice has always been an integral part of Judaism. It is in accord with tradition therefore that the central conference of American Rabbis submits this declaration of principles as a program for the attainment of which the followers of our faith should strive." There follows embodied in fourteen paragraphs a full statement of an equitable social system.

It is true that these programs represent the best that of the religious leaders in America; and that it is a long way between declaration of purpose and the accomplishment of the same purpose thru purposeful action. The encouraging note in the whole movement is that the Church and the forces of Religion generally are endeavoring as they never have before to interpret Christian principles in terms of life expressed in a present Christianized social order.

"The day when morals and Religion are to be promoted merely by getting men individually to turn from evil to righteousness has passed. The day has come when groups and even nations as such are themselves to obey the moral law or stand condemned to failure." This truth is axiomatic and yet it was no less a man than Sir Baden Powell who told the Boy Scouts of England that the war for democracy would not be won during the period of the war but in the quarter century following the declaration of peace. The battle was one of ideals not of forces. Such revolutions are violent and fret with fearful hardships. The world was torn asunder by the war but now chaos is loosed of all restraint. There are some that say we must reestablish the order of things as they were while others condemn that old entirely. Is there not a happy mean and yet a third course. And so the battle rages. A dark cloud overshadows our national life. Some of us are able to see beyond the cloud. Others of us cannot. Darkness reigns, pessimism rides rampant. Pacifists even now have lost faith in the humanity of their fellow men and sometimes even in their God. Just because there is uncertainty as to the exact value of a

dollar. Men are prone to forget that inflated currency and shortage of goods are the cause of present financial stress and that high prices are a normal outgrowth of unstabilized conditions resulting from a peace time to a war time and then back again to a normal basis. Necessary to the prosperity of America and to the world is the man who will recollect that an honest day's work is the only guarantee of an honest day's wages. Have all America's sons lost sight of that economic pole star? A moment's reflection only is needed to assure ourselves that America is now the greatest capitalist in the world. How long she will so remain is another story.

The political life of America as well as the economic life of the nation is also divided against itself. The spirit in which the administration views the post war status of the American people and of the nation as such is illuminating. A careful examination of the text of the president's message to the 66th congress reveals three facts: - (1) the style or phraseology are not those of Woodrow Wilson; (2) the "predominant" rights of the government "to assert its power and suggest against the challenge of any class" smacks of autocracy; (3) majority rule is made to be the foundation of American life. A few statesmen supported the feeding of Germany upon broad and humanitarian principles where democratic and Christian. Woodrow Wilson was one of these. The present administration, however, know not such principles. The majority of the message concerns itself with capital and labor (class strife) while the American Agriculture is merely given an expression of gratitude as a food producer in time of war. Is

there not here expressed some real reasons for unrest in America? Here is evidently a maladjustment. No wonder dissatisfaction fills the nation from the greatest to the least. Yet we are a healthy people - none more so. Our domain is large. We have been scarcely touched by the sorrow and deprivations which bury Europe. Everything has been coming our way. We have little cause to complain. Yet everything is wrong. Why? We are not satisfied nor can we be so long as our present evaluation of success obtains.

From the rapid survey of post war conditions as we have followed them so far, a few facts have presented themselves as self evident. There are two distinctly different types of that existing in the United States at the Present time. One type is bound to seek out some one who is to blame for all the phases of unrest which in these days make life miserable. These people would have us believe that America is destined to destruction because a given set of conditions do not actuate all our policies as a nation. Nothing can last if it deviates the tiniest fraction of a degree from the course it has always pursued; these extremists also disport themselves under another leadership. In this capacity they would direct our course to the condition which is the one Russia has pursued to its logical conclusion - the blissful theory that "each of us may live at the expense of all of us without any of us doing any work." These people are represented by the stand-patters and pussyfooters in government circles; the sensationalists and autocrats in industry, the occultists and crackpots of religion and intolerant minds in general.

The second type of that looks for the causes of conditions, seeks an antedote and then attempts the normal contact of the

two. These are the idealists of government, the humanitarians in industry, the 'this worldly' of religionists and the everethetically thoughtful among all of us. What then is the real cause of the great unrest and dissatisfaction which fills our national life in all its phases?

In the second place it appears that the farmer is not only the stabilizing factor in economic affairs but that he also promises to supply the balance of our entire national life if he can see the proposition as a worthwhile undertaking. Lack of the genius around which America was moulded is by some looked upon as a cause of all the unrest which now besets us. If that be true it behooves us to discover more fully the nature of our malady. We people of America, so some scholars tell us, have been blind to our own national interests and have neglected the possibilities of a fully developed national spirit, and this because we have that most of personal affairs. The History of America is the History of refugees. These refugees have known government only also too often as an organ of systematic oppression, suppression, and extinction. Their rulers resort to fiat and force to attain their selfish ends. Personality does not flourish in such an atmosphere, but on the other hand has personality flourished for them in America? Does personality bloom in an atmosphere of social unfriendliness, industrial cruelty and danger, unsanitary living conditions, overcrowded quarters, and injustice? Personality may flourish but Americanism can not. Yet such conditions are not unknown in Christian America. Is it any wonder then that folks who flee one torture only to encounter another express their dissatisfaction? Is it any wonder that there is an unrest in America

now or at any time so long as that condition exists? We had not noticed this aspect of the matter before. It is but natural that we did not. We grew up beside it. We accepted it as a normal part of American life instead of a symptom of a National malady. The mobilization of the army and navy revealed our weakness, we know better now. Now, we must try to discover what the normal conditions would be, what Americanization really involves. Having done that much we will set about the attainment of the fulness of a normal life.

"Every people", declares Mazzini, "has its special mission which will cooperate toward the fulfillment of a general mission of humanity. That mission constitutes its nationality. Nationality is sacred." Let us carefully avoid confusing nationality as Mazzini knows it from the primitive and barbaric instinct of nationalism. The latter is the text from which Prussia recently canonized. The former is illustrated by the spirit in which America was founded.

"The spirit of America is the spirit of self-respect, independence of domination, and restraint of injustice and tyranny ---- the spirit of consideration of others. ----- Americanization is the extension and the deepening of the community spirit until we shall, as a democracy be able literally and spiritually to speak the same language and to cooperate for ideal ends, ----. On the part of Americans of older stock, it means a recognition of the worth of these new-comers and appreciation of their ability to enrich our American life. On the part of the new Americans it means the unreserved acceptance of the duties as well as rights

of American citizenship, and the responsibilities and undivided allegiance to America. --- Americanization is not a reduction of all to a common denominator but the elevation of all to the highest possible plane. --- The living conditions demanded by American standards are not luxurious, they include such elemental necessities of life as privacy, sanitation, and sufficient air and sunlight, which have been demonstrated to be essential to decency and health. To these simple requirements are added wholesome surroundings, physical and moral." To this admirable statement, Charles Alvin Brooks adds one more point, namely that "democracy involves acting together and the essential prerequisite for united action is united thought."

Hence it becomes evident that the process of Americanization involves as a vital principle that spirit that Americans have chosen to call democracy. This democracy is what the war was fought to save. Men gave their lives to make the world safe for Democracy. The war is over, and Democracy is not yet saved. When then is this democracy which we count so dear? It is an illusive term, and no dictionary can quite define it. Community is the meaning of its Greek root. The qualitative ending gives therefore to democracy the significance of "community welfare". The fact that democracy is synonymous with 'community welfare' means nothing to us until we try to define it in terms of Americanization, but again the result is confusing. It is more simple perhaps that the problems of democracy are the problems involved in living together in harmony.

Democracy is a spirit, a crusade, not a gift. It is the progressive development of the spirit of Christ working in the passions and strivings of men. Democracy is a state of society in

which all may work with great enthusiasm for the common good. Some say "well, that would be a form of government". To that reason must admit, upon second thought that all is democratic America is not working for the common good in the spirit of Christ. Furthermore, it is not a form of government because elements of democracy exist in forms of governments that are in other respects far from democratic. Autocratic Germany operated an admirable system of old age pensions, accident insurance and the like, yet Germany was not a democracy, and it is not, yet. Then again men are heard to say that democracy is made stable by education. That is not true. There are too many polished fools and educated crooks known to all of us for us to take such stock in such an assertion. No, education, universal suffrage, a living wage, a social insurance, conservation of national resources, prohibition, reduction of armaments, square business dealings, protection child-hood, unity in religious effort; all these are not democracy, they are but the scaffolding upon which democracy may be built. Democracy is greater than any one of all of these. It is an Ideal. Every great epoch in History has been dominated by a great Ideal. Democracy is the Ideal which will dominate the twentieth century. Democracy is an Ideal one never to achieve. When a man sets a limit to his Ideal in order to achieve them, they cease to be Ideals. An Ideal is a goal toward which we strive, but to which we never attain. Democracy is therefore a habit of life. In it there are certain traits which have no place. Self-interest, profiteering, racial barriers, traditionalism with its unobtrusive outlook, class distinction, national barriers, intolerance with

those who do not agree with us; these all have no place in a democracy. Democracy demands that we "prove all things and hold fast to that which is good." No democratically-minded person exists apart from his friends or enemies both. Democracy includes sympathy with all men, the common man, the member of the minority as well as the great man, the wielder of far reaching power. Democracy is perfected religion, religion that enters in the lives and affairs of men. To exclude this Ideal from men's lives results in class movements. To exclude it from religion is to make Religion a set of meaningless maneuvers. Physical democracy always fails. The spirit of democracy expresses itself in service motivated by love of all the world of which God is a part.

This Ideal is truly the spirit of America, but it is not confined to America nor is it peculiar either to the twentieth century or to Christianity. In the temple of life and upon the altar of progress burn the fires of inspiration and the spirit of democracy ascends like incense in the ever brightening flames until at last it has come to fill the whole world with its fragrance. The voices of those who have worshipped at that altar are wafted in upon us like sweet music swelling adown all the ages that are past.

"The man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; in seeking to enlarge himself, he seeks also to enlarge others. -- The superior man seeks to perfect the admirable qualities of men; seeks not to perfect their bad qualities."

Confucius

"If you thoroly amend your ways and your doings; if you thoroly execute judgment between man and his neighbor; if you oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, or the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, neither walk after other gods to your hurt; then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers." Jeremiah.

"We are members of one great body, planted by nature by a mutual love, and fitted for a social life. - We must consider that we were born for the good of the whole."

Seneca.

"He that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is chief, as he that serves." Jesus.

"If your bones be not broken whilst living, what hope of deliverance in death? It is but an empty dream, that the soul shall have union with him because it has passed from the body."

Rabbi beneth Tagora.

"There is no truth more thoroly established than that there exists in the economy and course of Nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid reward of public prosperity and felicity."

George Washington.

"We haven't yet become civilized enough to worship a principle --the Religion of the future is Humanity --It is far more important that we should love our wives more than we love God."

Ingersoll.

"The right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for

the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts -- for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free people as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

Woodrow Wilson.

Democracy is a spirit which gives vividness of color to the social fabric with which civilization has clothed herself. If this spirit lives and prospers the social fabric is a glow of beauty. If the spirit is depressed the splendor of civilization passes into decay. Democracy is the indication of the soul life of society. "The social questions are in their main scope an intent, manifestations of the moral life of the times. They are ethical questions. They appear in forms which are political or industrial, but behind these activities of form works the one spirit. Against the list of the flesh there rises up the instinct of chaste love and creates the social question of the family; against the lust of riches there appear the emotions of benevolence and pity and creates the problem of charity; against economic injustice there arises the hope of an industrial commonwealth and creates the labor question. Thus there is a mechanism of the social question and a motive power, and while mechanism may be externally adjusted by legislation or organization, the motive power is to be found in human hearts and wills. The social question occurs simply because a very large number of people are trying in many different ways to do what is right. The moral

life is written across the face of the times in the language of the social questions. The social energy of modern conscience finds its main channel of expression on the social forces of modern reform." -- Peabody in "Jesus Christ and the Social Question".

And so Democracy finds its main channel of expression in these days of reconstruction in every phase of our national life; in strikes and race riots, in social service agencies and church programs, in economics and government, and in the organizing forces of agriculture. Reconstruction is a continuous process. War is not its cause but merely a stimulus, a mental release. All life is a series of adaptations to conditions, a process of reconstruction. War accelerated the process. This war brought into opposition two methods of life with the result that the balance in life was upset and readaptation is more difficult than it ordinarily is in peace times. The opposing methods of force and arbitration, of strike and legislation, of open discussion and forceful suppression; appear all about us struggling for the mastery for the motives of our national life. The question is not shall there be reconstruction? Reconstruction is a law of life continuously operative. The question is not between Prussianism and Democracy for the Prussianism is still powerful in America, Americans are committed to the principle of freedom and justice and to a voice in our own Government, and to service as opposed to oppression. The problem that we DO face today as a Nation is one of method. Shall we work out our national and other problems by the application of force and experiment, or shall we apply to them the principles of Democracy

based on that and good judgment?

Success all men crave. A living all must have. Subsistence is an ever present problem, yet mere subsistence is not synonymous with success. for success does not consist in what comes to a man. The more that comes to a man the more that man expects to come, and so there is set in action that vicious circle of high wages and continually ascending prices, until soon more is expected from others than one is willing to pay for. Any business becomes illegitimate when it fails to contribute to the welfare of the people. Success is measured by what of happiness men are able to give to their associates. Men seek happiness and find it not, because happiness like all the chiefest treasure of life is a byproduct of the spirit which has at heart the welfare of all mankind. There is no hope for economic or social peace in the present social order, and so men are demanding today that the emphasis of life shall be transferred to other values. Service, contribution, sympathy and interest, obligation, world relationship; these are the foundation of economic prosperity. The world has fought and bled for democracy. It looks now for the soul of society. If society has not a soul then democracy has died in its youth. The ground has been bought for the city of God. The price was paid in Flanders field where lillies bloom. But who will build the city? We have searched everywhere that men have ever that to search and we have found no one. Is there no way to build character into this old world?

There remains one great hope. Shall we not turn again in our extremity to the one who served the world so wholeheartedly in the exigencies of our latest peril? Canada looks in the future

to the farmer to guide her storm-tossed craft thru the surges of reconstruction. The farmer, likewise, is our only hope. In the days of the war our eyes were turned to the farmer. In his hands rested the fate, of us, our nation, and democracy. He well knew it and rallied to the call of freedom and the world. He gave his sons to the service of their country. He sent himself. And yet he increased the production of cereal for the feeding of the world by forty million acres in one year. He, more than anyone else, won the war, by his sagacious loyalty to God and his country.

The war is over. The farmer only seems to recall that an honest day's work is the only guarantee of an honest day's wages. America is twice blessed; first because of the legislation she has enacted in behalf of better farming. No nation has so many laws promoting good agriculture as has the United States. In 1919 there were bills before Congress for rural education, and the improvement of rural life aggregating one hundred million dollars. Secondly, America emerged from the war better equipped in many respects than when she took up arms. Her resources are scarcely touched, and her debts are insignificant in comparison to those of European nations. The national debt of Great Britain aggregates nine hundred dollars per capita, that of France six hundred dollars, while those of Germany and Austria equal five hundred sixty dollars, and three hundred forty six dollars, respectively. But the war debt of America is only two hundred dollars per capita. The task before America is thus clearly not one of reconstruction, but, in the words of the Secretary of Agriculture, "one of selection and emphasis". The

task before the United States is not one of ridding ourselves of propagandists for again, as Mr. Houston observes, regarding the visions of extremists and of others of their kind, "American farmers are not easily fooled, and we may trust them to assess these people and their motives at their real worth". The farmer is the only possible stabilizing factor in control of affairs. The farmer is both capitalist and laborer. As a capitalist he is not a speculator but his profits depend upon the shrewdness of his best judgment. Whereas individual capitalists turn over their investments from two to ten times yearly, the farmer turns his over only once. Industrial labor when it senses the need of an opportunity for more enjoyable conditions registers its demand in a strike. By the same token the farmer has reason to be on a strike most of the time. His income is insufficient to his needs. It can be written for the most part in three figures. As observers, we are not so much interested in his welfare as we are in our own, for the farmer might strike against furnishing the world food and he might continue to do so indefinitely. If he did it would not effect his supply of food and clothing materially but wherewithal would the rest of us be fed and clothed. But the farmer will not strike, he is more human than that. The very nature of his business makes him a man governed by cool calculating justice. He gets what he earns and no more. Nature only pays labor at her value. The problem confronting the nation today as the national leaders in agriculture see it, is to make farming pay and farm life worth the effort.

The farmer learned his power during the war. He discovered how much everyone depends upon him. He was anxious in those days

to avail himself of all the expert council regarding methods and the world's needs which the agricultural extension service could give. He will not soon forget their help either. He wants more of it. But both he and they realize that the world's demands for soil grown products is limited, and that consequently only a limited number of farmers are needed to grow those products. The nature and extent of the world's needs must be ascertained, and then agriculture must be organized in such a way as to meet those needs.

In the days ahead the farmer is destined to take his place in the affairs of the state, in the destinies of nations, and into his hand will be given the possession of the whip to be wielded for the welfare of the people. He it was who declared this to be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. He it will be who will prove to America that the meaning of those words may not for long be distorted to sound like a government of the people, by class, and for a coin.

There is a large section of the population of the United States who will not accept such a view of national affairs however. They will not accept such a view because, in their system of reckoning the farmer has no place. There are people, whose vision has been less restricted, whose interests and business have been as broad as life itself. It is these people who have thus given expression to their observation. Folks like these have been the friends and companions of the farmer for the last score of years and more, but particularly during the last decade. It is from such folk that information upon this new aspect of the problem in hand must come. Fortunately evidence is at hand. The

attitudes of farm papers and magazines, educational representatives of agricultural colleges and experimental stations, rural pastors, and the farmers themselves; have been and are still very much interested in the greatest industry and the most wholesome mode of life in the world. The rural problem is large and greatly involved. No one is able to see it in its entirety. All do not see it from the same point of view. But certain uniform conclusions arise above the plain of varied opinions and seem well grounded in truth. It is to these facts and principles to which attention is now directed.

The editor of the press is at once a mirror of conditions as they are and a prophet of things as they shall be. The editor cannot see all the things about which he writes. For a human being, and he is such an one no less than anyone of us, it is utterly impossible to be in all places at one time. He has other means of getting information, however. He is able to see, and to talk with others who have seen. But all do not see alike and so all cannot see aright. Who saw the building of the Panama Canal? Certainly not those who dug it, nor yet those who directed the digging of it. Who has seen the spirit of Prussianism? Surely no man has yet become God to the extent of seeing the mind of a man not to mention that of a nation ---- not even Herr Hohenzollern himself as he well knows and that to his sorrow. Again, when a coal miner shouts for labor, is his shout qualified by the rights of the employer; when men on Wall Street convene to discuss the cost of butter, do they see the life of the farmer? probably they more often see eclipsing him the great sun against which the glorious American Eagle soars, bearing the

mystic legend "In God We Trust". And so the editors information may be far off from the facts. Truly, "the editor is a man who knows all about things, but he can hardly be expected to know all about everything. Yet he has to decide the question which is of more importance than any other in the formation of opinions, the question of where attention is to be attracted".

What forms the basis of his judgment? Firstly, the standards by which his readers test their reasoning in order to discover if he be true or false. This social conscience in turn based upon their knowledge reaped from the ten of other editors of former issues and publications. Thus the editor in his paper reflects the public opinion of the present. But more than his insight into the course of events, determines his forecast of the future. In that respect he becomes a seer. In that double sense does the editor hold in his hand the fate of the nation. "If there is no vision the people languish." Be it remembered regarding rural people that daily newspapers do not reach more than ten percent of the families, and in no household are two dailies to be found.

With this in mind let us examine for a minute the opinion of the editors upon the nature and outlook of present events. How do they read the signs of the times; and how do they interpret those signs? The exigencies of war have exposed some very "Unlovely possessions of our inner personal and national life". (E. G.) Knowing our weakness we are of course in a better position to grapple with the situation. It is hard at present to retain a sense of proportions and to recognize the "real issues" which the nation faces. People in general by the millions, particularly

the working men are trying to present their claims to the public. But there is a certain element of autocracy in American life which is opposed to anything of improvement towards personal liberties. One editor goes to the length of saying frankly that, "The press is doubtless distracting a majority of the people from the real issues by exaggerating the activities and magnifying the importance of a handful of scattered extremists. Undoubtedly, there is a sinister propaganda lack of this." Causes have been unsought, "free speech and peaceable assembly" have been suppressed and a series of injunctions and a hectic state of mind have resulted. Unquestionably there must be more of the spirit of democracy inculcated into industry. On the whole strikes are unsatisfactory. They have been one-sided. Employers also have rights and may some day be forced to strike back in order to bring them to notice. The question confronting industry today is not its mechanical ability to withstand the strain imposed upon it by the process involved in humanizing industry now under way; the thing industry must do is to apply "honest, hard work" toward the resumption of efficient production. Having seen the problem more clearly than ever before, as a nation, "we shall for a time stand amazed, disappointed and idle, but we cannot long sustain this complex, abnormal attitude, and since our country is comparatively new and undeveloped, we shall drift back to work".

The nation is largely what it was before the war. Public institutions still need to emphasize the real things of life and not erratic expressions of it. The question of fair play is still forcing itself to national consciousness. "If we had any mental poise before the war we shall recover it." Morality and religion

tend to become a part of everyday life. "Our 'sacral ideals' have not grown flabby, but our flabby morals have been exposed." The destruction by war is not to be compared in its viciousness to the kind of urbanization that is taking place thruout our country now. One editor states the situation tersely in connection with child training, when he says, "The vast majority of people, in city and town as well as in the country, are not appreciably wiser than their ancestors, they are much more indifferent to their duty toward children. The fact is lamentable, but not much can be done to modify it. It appears to be an inexorable law that millions of people, like acorns or seed seeds, shall be scattered abroad, to be something or nothing."

"In these times of hysteria and class interests, the farmer is playing the part of a balance wheel. Living apart from the great industrial centers where the ferment is the hottest, he can bring a more unprejudiced mind to bear on our industrial problems than any other class, and, in my opinion, he is doing just that", writes the editor of a central western agricultural journal. Another editor comments, "Farm people are just as earnest, serious, busy, religious, irreligious, kindly, faithful and loyal as they were before the war. Farm business during the war had returned more adequate to the needs of life than formerly. Young men seeing the unrecipitated opportunity in dairy farming for "the intelligent progressive man" are entering that vocation. Farm labor on the other hand is irritatingly scarce. Continually improving farm machinery and methods with a resulting increase in products will probably soon "invite farm labor back to the farm".

This contact with the American farmer has given to the editors of farm journals an optimistic confidence in his sanity

I shall quote largely from these men's observations. "In the states where the paper of which I am editor circulates, the farmers are freely co-operating with organized labor in its just and reasonable demands for reforms in industry, but the farmer believes in law and order, courts and governments, free speech and the ballotbox. He is against direct action and revolution. The farmer will have great influence in restoring sanity and he is going to take a large part in politics." (N. PL. L.) The editor of a widely read dairy journal makes the same observations from a slightly different angle. "We do not find that farmers, as a whole, view their present situation with great alarm nor are they greatly disturbed. They, of course, appreciate the present difficulties with which they meet and those that may present themselves in the future. However, this is no more true of them than of other occupations. In other words, we hold a rather optimistic view point of the solidarity and progressive-ness of the dairy farmers of the United States. They are not going to be herded in a mass or stampeded into extreme radical action. They are conservative by nature and will analyse this thing pretty well before they take definite action." (H. D.) -

But perhaps the most significant indication is stated by a third journalist, "Farmers are organizing, as they have never organized before, for defensive and offensive purposes. The purpose is to meet the challenge of the organized, unionized six hour chaps."

This then is the place assigned to the farmer in the new day by the Agricultural journalists. The forces of agricultural education have come very close to the soil and its husbandmen

the past few years. The men from the agricultural colleges and from the experiment stations have proved themselves on the whole to be level-headed in calculation and worthy of the farmer's friendship. They have seen and heard many things of national import as they have worked with one ear to the ground.

The key note is sounded by a County Commissioner of Schools from Michigan when he writes, "To those people that think that our country is going to the dogs, I want to say that they can not prove their assertion". The farmer's problem is primarily an economic problem. Agriculture must produce a sufficient reward in dollars if men are to give their lives to the process of that business. It is scarcely necessary in these days to remind ourselves that "great values are found in people rather than in the processes by which they make a living". As a matter of fact the great migration towards the industrial centers did not set in because of lack of dollars but because of the lack of those advantages and mechanical contrivances which will make life in the country as enjoyable and satisfying as life in the city.

The farm home must contain household conveniences and radiate an atmosphere of love and inspiration that will inspire those qualities of character in our day that have produced in other days the statesmanship and leadership for the guidance of our national fortunes. Adversity often produces character, but the lack of the comforts of life produce only dissatisfaction.

The farmer's children must have the right to a sufficient education to enable them to take their place in life on a plain equal to their peers. At the present time two and one half times as much is being spent to educate the farmer's child as is spent to educate the farmer's son. But money is not the measure

of an education. The rural school must have scientifically trained supervision and employ rurally minded teachers who shall be able to inspire farm boys and girls with the beauty, nobility and challenging character of their natural heritage - life in the open country.

Then there must be established between the farmer and that corps of expert advisers from the federal and state departments of agriculture a close bond of fellowship in order that better methods and a broad outlook may be a part of the farmer's working capital continually. Then there will come into the country: systems of magnificent drives and wagon ways, lovely farmsteads, scientifically tilled acres, a system of credits and short time loans, facilities for collective buying and selling, knowledge of the laws and of the means of sanitation, access to medical aid, an opportunity for travel and culture. In a word there must be put at the disposal of the farmer the means of making the business of farming pay, namely; better farm practice, better farm business and better farm life. But most of all the farmer wants the two essentials of contentment; the means of earning and building a home and leisure time to be used recreatively.

Play is not a child's pastime, it is Nature's school of life in which she trains folk in the arts of cooperation, the science of enjoyment and the technique of gaining a livelihood. Men must play well if he would live well. Men must be able to own their own homes if they are to choose the wholesomeness of country life in preference to the destructiveness of city life.

These facts so briefly stated express the conviction of those people who have perhaps lived closer to the farmer and his

needs than any others. I mean the Educators, the representatives of the departments of Agriculture, the agricultural colleges and the rural schools. The leaven which these agricultural educators have been hiding in the life of agrarian America has at last reached even to the Brotherhood of rural pastors and has made them aware of facts and conditions the existence of which they never before suspected. During the years that are past, the church grew to be an urban institution. This was perhaps due to the fact that the great truths of Christianity were cast by its first theologians in the terms of city life. The Apostle Paul was no less great on that account but it remains for rural folk not so much to live by what Paul taught but to learn what Jesus did. The literature of the Bible, including the life of Jesus, is the literature of a rural people. It reflects in its songs, its proverbs and in the lives of its statesmen the song of bird, the habits of foxes, the herding of sheep and the husbandry of the soil. The Levitical laws approach a knowledge of scientific agriculture but recently attained in our day.

The religious movement these days is back to Jesus and, as must necessarily follow, back to an emphasis upon the things that pertain to agriculture. "Regarding the present world crisis," one religious leader declares, with sufficient emphasis, "the Reformation wasn't the A B C to the present movement". And he senses again the profoundness of the present issue when he continues by saying that: "Our chief business is to build a soul, a soul is built by service". (Diehl)

Recently some very significant events took place in the religious world. Hitherto the Protestant ministry has been educated

to meet city conditions. During the autumn of 1919 a movement was started to make a certain middle western college the training center for rural pastors. Does the call of the land then have a chance to become spiritualized? Perhaps the ideas of one of the workers in the section of the middle west mentioned above may serve to give some light on that question. "Rural life is breaking down thru conditions for which the church is in part responsible. The present high cost of living is very largely due to a partial breakdown in rural life. We shall never settle permanently the high cost of living until we build a new rural civilization. It cannot be stated too frequently, nor with too great emphasis, that we cannot have a permanent civilization in America without cultured men and women on the farm; we cannot keep culturedmen and women on the farm without satisfactory social, recreational, educational, economic and religious conditions for the farmer and his family. The rural church must take upon herself the task of building a civilization or fail to accomplish her mission." Michigan Farmer of Oct. 18, 1919 -W. W. Diehl. So long as there are leaders in the church who see the issue before the American people as clearly as does Dr. Diehl there is a good chance of a bright future for American Agriculture and for the American nation. When apply their religion to the everyday problems of their life so that they two become one, their cause cannot fail. "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof and all that dwell therein." "Ye all are brothers and one is your father, even God."

Up to this point the farmer and his affairs have been considered from a purely academic point of view. His problem has been surveyed, his welfare solicited but his opinion upon his own case has not been consulted. Men in other walks of life are

thinking great ideals now as they have ever been thinking them; but no man can have great ideas and observe great principles of conduct, apart from definitely particular purposes and have them count much in human affairs. "Inspiration without perspiration is dissipation." Enthusiasm unexpressed in deeds becomes asceticism and the man who participates in it grows to regard the world of teeming humanity with cold calculated deliberation; neutral, optimistic. Men whose ideals have been recorded in history are those men who have said they live as a part of particular issues. Lloyd George, a sympathizer with the commoner because he was one of them; Lincoln, a liberator because he knew the meaning of bondage; Thomas Mott Osborn, the prison reformer because he had first been a prisoner; these all are such. No less does the farmer insist upon the fundamentality of this universal truth in its application to farm life. Perhaps that is why the farmer has finally come into the national arena to direct his own affairs. Whatever the cause, the facts are before us. Thru the agency of the farm bureau the farmer is at last coming to his own. The farm bureau for several years past has been recognized as the coordinating unit between the state and the national agricultural extension service and the people on the farm. A paragraph from the text of a little folder published in 1918 in West Virginia will serve to illustrate the important position to which this organization had attained at that time.

"The county farm bureau is a co-operative organization with a constitution and by-laws combining the rural community clubs and special home economics group into a county federation, so as to assist most efficiently in the improvement of the farms, the

homes, the churches and the schools. The farm bureau stands for advancement in country life and opposes the things that are harmful."

Among the events which during his life on this planet, have befallen man, there are some few whose significance to the race have not been diminished by the accretions of time. Some of these have been registered in documents of more than passing interest. The Hebrew Decalogue, the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the platform of the British Labor Party; these are the bill of rights of humanity. Into their body has been written another paragraph. It is the Constitution of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

On November 13, 1919, this federation stated its right of existence in the second article of its Constitution. "The objects of this organization shall be to correlate and strengthen the state farm bureaus and similar state organizations of farmers of the several states in a national federation to promote, protect and represent the business, economic, social and educational interests of the farmers of the nation and to develop agriculture." With this as a subjective statement of the purposes of the farmers, it may not be out of place to interject an objective statement of the same purpose by a representative of the government agencies whose educational work has finally been registered in such an epoch making statement. A statement of purpose by Professor Dwight Anderson of the Agricultural Extension Service of Cornell University follows: "Cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics is now organized thruout the

United States forms a new institution of democracy for promoting the highest efficiency in agriculture and home economics thru the use of the best methods discovered by science and human experience. It is democratic in that its program of work is largely determined by the farm people of the local community. It is cooperative in that the local organization is supported by the National, State and County Governments in the employment and supervision of agents, who by technical training and experience are qualified to direct its activities. These agents bring to farm people not only the latest results of the investigations and experiments of science, but the best methods of those who have been most successful in farming and home-making. Such new and better methods of crop and animal production and of home management are introduced not merely by printed or spoken utterances, but are put into actual operation on a few farms in each community, so that practical demonstrations of their value are made under ordinary farm conditions. These demonstrations are made by public spirited farmers and farm women who desire to employ and to try out the best methods in their own work and to bring the results to the attention of their neighbors in the interest of the common good. Therefore, as extension work develops it is increasingly carried on by the people themselves with the employed extension agents as their agents in its organization and supervision." And what is the meaning of this thing which is taking place in our midst so unobtrusively that we are scarcely aware of its presence? Those who have brot it to pass stated their view of the significance of the movement in the hour of its

insertion. Representatives of thirty-one states gathered at Chicago with but one purpose. They were unswerving in the quest of that one thing for which they were assembled. They were bold in their attack upon their problems but sympathetically considerate of all affected. They refused to be corrupted by parliamentary formality or by class interests. Their object was one. They cared not about honors. They insisted on the exercise of good judgement, the expression of experience only and a thoroughgoing fairness of open discussion and procedure that some other legislative bodies in the United States at least might take note of.

Heretofore farmers have not taken the initiative but have permitted big business to direct their affairs. The time has now come when that is no longer true, for farmers now propose to direct their own affairs according to the best business principles known. The farmer will organize as thoroughly as labor has been organized and for the same purposes. The farmer is a plain and patriotic man. Hitherto the Nation has not had the advantage of his assertive, constructive and sane thinking. The agrarian interest of the nation are large and varied, extending into every corner where men work and live. Not only will organized agriculture contribute to farming but to the work of the entire nation as such. The farmers of America are thinking in world terms. What is next needed is a general campaign to inform the country of the problem which the farmer is facing. Secondly there must be generated a sympathy between the city and country in regard to the several problems of each, and finally there

must come a declaration to the world of the philosophy of farming namely, "an honest day's labor for an honest day's pay". The vision of organized agriculture is broad and wholesome. That vision is not one of money but of service.

The speeches upon the floor of the organization convention inspired the confidence of those who look for an equitable adjustment of human interests and conditions in America. These problems were approached with frank and open minds. The clarity of that on the part of the leading farmers in the United States is well illustrated by the following excerpts from speeches made at the convention.

"This is one of the biggest movements ever launched in this country", said F. B. Harris of Champaign, Illinois. "It is founded on a sound basis - the county farm surplus. The key note must be sound Americanism. We must have the courage of our convictions and while we will all work for the good of agriculture, we must keep in mind at the same time the interest of the entire nation."

"The fundamental purpose of a national farm bureau federation as I see it, is to take both capital and labor by the seat of their pants and the nape of their neck and crack their heads together so they will learn a little sense", said Y. Caverne, of New Madrid County, Missouri. "I don't mean by this that we are going to fight capital and labor. We want to get along with all of them all of the time if possible. But the way that capital and labor have been acting for the past few years convinces me that they must be taught a good lesson, and there is nobody in the country strong enough to do the teaching except the

organized farmers. There will be plenty of occasion for us to get together with capital and labor, talk things over, promote better understanding and all that. But when farmers are properly organized they will meet with capital and labor, and both the latter will turn to the farmers because everything begins on the farm. That is when the speaking will have to be done, and we will have a better notion for having it done."

"Farmers as a class are conservative and level headed, and it is my belief that the Farm Bureau movement will never be dominated by radicals", said O. E. Bradfute, President of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation. "I believe that the national organization of farmers will be a stabilizing influence in the councils of the nation at this time of industrial and economic unrest. It is to our interest to see that the representatives of organized agriculture shall not make entangling alliances with any other powerful group or class. Such a step would hamper agriculture to a serious extent. Farmers must attack their own problems and not allow the power which is potentially theirs to be used to advance the cause of some other group that is interested in agriculture merely for what it can get out of it."

"There are so many big things for a national organization of farmers to do that it is really hard for a man to grasp how large the task is going to be", said Mr. Howard of Clements, Iowa. "It is hard even to know what will comprise the first major activities."

"Just at present, I think legislative matters could well occupy a large part of our attention. During the war and its consequent readjustment, many injustices were done to agriculture.

Take for example the daylight saving law. It was a gross piece of foolishness enacted into law in the name of efficiency. It would be a law of the land had it not been for the emphatic protest of the Farm Bureau Federations and other farm organizations. Not only are there laws on the statute books of states and nation which need changing, but there are constantly coming up a host of new laws which should be inspected for an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

"Next on the program serious attention should be given to questions relating to securing fair prices for farm products. Marketing questions are much more fundamental in their scope and importance than legislative but it takes longer to perfect remedies. Farmers in Iowa are tremendously interested in the possibilities of following their grain thru the terminal markets. Our cooperative elevators are taking up the slack at home, but that is insufficient if the great terminal markets are controlled. We are going to investigate the operations of the United Grain Growers of Canada, who have attempted to solve this question.

"There are other great questions that need attention - livestock markets and packer regulation, farm financing, solution of the land ownership question, further development of local cooperative societies for selling minor farm products like butter, eggs, etc., development of better agencies for buying things needed on the farm. There are so many problems of this character that it is hard to name all of them, to say nothing of analysing them. I firmly believe that the farm bureau federation can succeed in doing these things."

"It is our duty in creating this organization to avoid any policy that would align organized farmers with the radicals of other organizations," said Harvey J. Sconce, President of the Illinois Agriculture Association. "The policy should be thoroughly American in every respect. A constructive organization instead of a destructive organization. We shall, organize not to fight anyone or to antagonize, but to cooperate and to construct, managing the affairs and business of agriculture in a broad business manner following the policy that most of the ills complained of by the individual will disappear when business is done in business ways.

"In order to do the business involved in a National agricultural association, it will be necessary that this association be represented in every place where the business of the farmer is taken into consideration.

"The farmers have stood by the government at all times, have produced last year the greatest crop of agricultural products that the world has ever known; sent a third of the men to France, and yet maintained production more than enough to feed the world, yet today are taking a lower price for their products and labor than any other class of people under the sun.

"The farmer is not a quitter like the Boston Police; he is not going to lie down on the job of furnishing food for this country like the coal miners have, but will do the best he can under the existing conditions to furnish enough food for his fellow men even if they do freeze.

"This organization created as it will be will reach to the last man in the industry and will be the best there of any organization in the history, the national farm bureau association, represent-

ing the various state associations. These state associations in turn representing the county farm bureaus within the state, and the membership of the farm bureau is the farmer himself who produces the world's food products.

"The great idea should be to keep control of our food products until they get much closer to the ultimate consumer than they do at the present time, thereby not only returning to us a profit on the article produced, but serving humanity in a more efficient manner by giving the consumer an article of quality at no increased cost.

"I hope the deliberations of this body of men will be upon a sane, practical policy, absolutely devoid of radicalism in every form; and that everything that we shall do shall be thoroughly American." (The Special Convention Daily, issued by the Prairie Farmer on November 12, 13, 14, 1919)

America needs Americans. That is the refrain that sounds adown the whole gamut of events which have filled the days since Armistice. Men crossed on the bridge of boats uttering between set teeth, "this must never happen again". The war is over but our cause is not yet secure. There is a strong sentiment abroad in parts of our land that Christian ideals can not prevail. Our former peaceful ways seem to have vanished into thin air. Violence is met with violence. Yet in our saner moments, well we know that violence never settled anything for long. Labor must be crushed, hush the rabid reds. We deny to citizens of a free nation the right to confer, cries the United States Steel Corporation. We will naught with world responsibility storms the august Senate. "My country right or wrong" affirms the daily press. Has Prussianism then changed its skin for the garb of Americanism? From the least to the greatest we have sinned before the white spirit

of democracy. As we stand there trembling and shocked we realize with no feeling of credit to ourselves or to our intellectual capacities that, "the last great battle for perpetual peace will not be fought on Flanders fields but in the minds of men"

Liberty exists only in an atmosphere where human life is organized thru the operation of healthy human judgement and unhampered inquiry. It is the office of liberty to produce such a wholesome atmosphere. In a social order such as exists in the United States where public opinion is the final standard by which all matters of state and public welfare are tested, anything that contributes to the formation of that public opinion is of immeasurably immense importance. In the complicated life which we live in these days of world relationships it becomes impossible for any of us, to recess or ever hope to gain a first hand knowledge of what is going on the world about us no matter how vitally these events may be bound up with our own destinies. During the war which is even yet unsettled, our liberty fled in the face of impending danger. As the nation sensed the descending catastrophe. Its individual liberties and interests with their influences on opinion were submerged in the common attempt to realize a common aim. We became afraid of ideas foreign to the common course of events. We suspected any departure from the common that registered in a different idea. Fear spurred us on until now in the absence of hostilities fear has become our undoing. "At a time when the world needs above all other things the activity of generous imaginations and the creative leadership of planning and inventive minds, our thinking is shriveled by panic. Time and energy that should go to building and restoring are instead consumed in warding off the pinpricks of pre-

justice and fighting a guerilla war against misunderstanding and intolerance. -- The tension of fear produces sterility. Men cease to say what they think and when they cease to say it, they soon cease to think it. They think in reference to their critics and not in reference to the facts. For when thoughts become socially hazardous, men spend more time wondering about the hazard than they do in developing their thought. Yet nothing is more certain than that mere bold resistance will not permanently liberate men's minds. The problem is not only greater than that but different. The attempt to draw fine distinctions between 'liberty' and 'license' is no doubt a part of the day's work but it is fundamentally a negative part. It consists in trying to make opinion responsible to prevailing social standards, whereas the really important thing is to try and make opinion increasingly responsible to the facts. There can be no liberty for a community which lacks the information by which to detect lies. With a common intellectual method and a common area of valid fact, differences may become a force of cooperation and cease to be irreconcilable antagonists." And so above the carnage of human rights and the pillaging of a privileged class there appears a cloud about the size of a man's hand. The right of men to peacefully assemble and to discuss pro and con the problems nearest their hearts has never been asserted more widely than at the present time. The month of December 1919 was such a month for conferences as Chicago has never before known in all her history. Men are not so blind to the issues at stake as some would have us believe. It is the soul of America that they seek to rescue from taint. Christian Democracy is the quest of the hour, and for such a cause there are not a few ready to die.

When great interests are at stake the things that unite humanity are more important than the things that divide them. There comes to us a note of reassurance and then a triumphant blast, a challenge. Up from the southern sister continent croons a soft voice, saying, "We have known that America was intensely practical but we did not know till now that you were a people of great ideals". The challenge has been flung down not to Germany alone but to America, "Choose ye this day between selfishness and service". These are not fresh deeds we see enacted in the land today, they are but old deeds in a new guise. There comes filtering to consciousness in our moments of meditation memories of other days and other scenes. There is the one of the noble Burke defending the rights of American colonists in the English Parliament. There is the anguish of the Arcadians when they were scattered before the ruthlessness of a cruel governor. There is the flat refusal of loyal subjects of Old England to fight against their brothers in the new land. There is the Boston Harbor besetted with the ships - a protest against a despot's heartless avarice. There are the Hessian Hords, hirlings of a servile king. And as these pictures rise again from out the past the grand orchestra of human hearts sob out that old refrain, "When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary". Ah yes that is it. "We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It is that song of the ages whose chorus we again repeat.



WELCOMING THE TALENTED CHILDREN OF THE SOIL.

Because of their closeness to the earth, the men on the farms increase in stature and strength.

And for this very reason a certain proportion of their children are being born with a finer strength. They are being born with all this power concentrated in their nerves. They have the magnificent thoughts that might stir the stars in their courses, were they given voice.

Yes, in almost every ranch house is born one flower-like girl or boy, a stranger among brothers and sisters. Welcome, and a thousand welcomes, to these Fairy changelings. They will make our land lovely. Let all of us who love God give our hearts to these His servants. They are born with eyes that wear themselves blind, unless there is beauty to look upon. They are endowed with souls that are self-devouring, unless they are permitted to make rare music; with a desire for truth that will make them and us the old prophets, unless they be permitted to preach and pray and praise God in their own fashion, each establishing his own dream visibly in the world.

The land is being jewelled with talented children, from Maine to California; souls busy as the grass, eyes wondering and passionate, lips that tremble. Tho they be born in hovels, they have tender hands, seeringly lost amid the heavy hands. They have hands that give way too soon amid the bitter days of labor, but are everlastingly patient with the violin, or chisel, or brush, or pen.

All these children as a sacred charge are appearing, coming down upon the earth like manna. Many will be deposited as the too abundant mulberry, that is left upon the trees. Many will

perish like the wild strawberries of Kansas, cut down by the roadside with the weeds. Many will be looked upon like an overabundant crop of apples, too cheap to be hauled to market, often used as fodder for the beasts. There will be a great slaughter of the innocents, more bloody than that of Herod of old. But there will be a desperate, hardy remnant, adepts in the conquering necromancy of agriculture, song, and democratic craftsmanship. They will bring us our new time in its completeness.

This by Faith, and study of the signs, we proclaim!

- By Nicholas Vachel Lindsay,

Courtesy of the Farm & Fireside, Springfield, Ohio.

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